1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

largest and juiciest; ekupu, slightly smaller than the preceding type; toshiare, long and thin, the sweetest of the four types; kuyarimyo, longer, thinner, and slightly sourer than toshiare. In planting, shoots are taken from the roots of mature plants and put in holes made in the ground with the digging stick. The plant bears in about a year after planting. The fruit is picked when it is yellow, and the skin removed with a knife. The fruit is mostly used to make an alcoholic drink called tanemu, the pulp being grated into a juicy mash and allowed to set for several days after having been mixed with water. Occasionally the ungrated fruit is eaten raw.

Three varieties of yams (napoi)[1] are known to the Caribs; apotononghapoi, the large white yam; tawimididishye, the small white yam; tupununapoi, the purple yam. They may be planted at any time of year and ripen in ten to eleven months, i.e. when the leaves die. For food they are eaten boiled, after being peeled. A drink, napoishuru, is also made from yams, as described in the chapter on stimulants.

Tanyas and eddoes are also grown in the fields and are boiled in the pot after being peeled.

Sugar cane grows in every field. It is planted by inserting a shoot into a small hill of loose earth. It is eaten as a confection, being chewed like a stick of candy after the outside bark has been removed. The juice is also expressed in the cane mill (Plate 8, *b*) and used as an ingredient in cassiri and other alcoholic drinks.[2]

Two types of "punkin" or squash (wayoma) are to be found in Carib fields: apotono wayomo, large and spherical; takunshishe wayomo, long and thin, with flesh drier and of superior flavor. The squash is planted from seed and bears in three months. As soon as the fruit is ripe the seeds are planted again so that a relatively continuous supply will be on hand all the year around. The squash is eaten only boiled; it is never dried or made into bread or cake.

Maize (awashi) of red (kuwata) and white (tamuneng awashi) varieties is raised. The seed is planted in small hills made with the hoe. While still green, the corn may be roasted on the cob in the husks; the ear is simply stuck among the hot ashes of a fire. When ripe, the kernels are removed from the cob with the hands

[1] *Dioscorea* sp.

[2] For a discussion of the probable introduction of this type of cane mill by negroes and for its distribution in South America, see Nordenskiöld, 1930, *Modifications of Indian Culture through Inventions and Loans.*

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who have been confined to their hammocks with fever of several degrees, upon being invited to a spree, have been known to leap from their sickbeds and perform the most arduous labor in order to get the party to the drinking bout on time. At one time I was without supplies for ten days because the men who had been sent down river to fetch them had joined a spree at an intervening settlement.

For several days before the social event the women of the entertaining family have been busy preparing the drink. Cassiri and paiwari are the two most popular alcoholic drinks. Cassiri is made according to the following recipe. The cassava is grated and squeezed and placed in a large pot with water. In the meantime, some thin cassava cakes are baked and allowed to become hard. These are chewed and spit into the pot. Sometimes, though not always, cane juice is added in the proportions of about a pint to a gallon of cassiri. The mixture is then placed in the cassiri kanu and allowed to "set" for from one to three days, at the end of which time it has a slight "bead" and the alcoholic content of weak beer.

Paiwari (paiawaru) is made as follows. The cassava meal is formed in thin cakes, which are baked until they are brown on both sides and toasted all the way through. Some of the cakes are then broken up into small bits and placed in a pot which is filled with water. Other cakes are chewed and spit into the pot in the same way as in the making of cassiri. Sometimes, though not always, cane juice is added. The mixture is then placed in the cassiri kanu to set. Paiwari has a cereal taste due to the toasted cassava bread, which is different from the taste of cassiri. To one who had at sometime or another soaked rye toast in weak beer, the taste of paiwari would not be unfamiliar. Both paiwari and cassiri are usually colored by grating a red potato into a mixture before it is set.

Unfermented cassiri, a supply of which is usually on hand in each house, is taken as an early morning pick-me-up the year around upon rising.

Alcoholic drinks are also made from fermented cane juice, pineapple juice, and field corn. Due to the fact that supplies of the raw materials of these drinks are scarcer, they are seldom used at sprees, but are kept for home consumption.

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(Freely: Do not look into my face that way, for, if you do, I shall never be able to forget you)[1].

As the affair progresses, the participants of course become progressively influenced by the drink, which is not intrinsically very strong, but which when taken in large quantities, steadily, for several hours produces all degrees of drunkenness. Restraints which are ordinarily practised are relaxed. On the one hand, an atmosphere of good fellowship prevails, individuals borrowing goods and taking privileges which would not even be mentioned during soberer hours. On the other hand, suppressed grudges are often brought to the surface and accounts settled with blows, a form of action which is seldom taken by a sober Carib. Men and women normally are extremely modest about exposing their sexual organs, even to members of their own sex, but during a drinking spree they can be seen urinating publicly and making jokes about it. However, I have seen no example of the practise which writers on the Guiana Indians have so frequently mentioned, namely, vomiting in order to increase one's drinking capacity. As the evening wears on the more enterprising men have usually arranged trysts with girls or women. The festivities gradually die a normal death as these couples slip off to their rendezvous, leaving the remainder of the party to drop into drunken sleep.

A spree continues until the supply of drink is exhausted. This is usually two or three days, and during this time the program of activity outlined above is vigorously kept up. When the beverage supply has come to an end the participants in the spree usually get into their hammocks and spend about twenty-four hours sleeping off the effects of the orgy before returning to their own homes.

The several forms of alcoholic stimulant have been described above. Tobacco remains to be mentioned. The tobacco plants grown by the Indians are of medium size, both as to height and leaves. They are planted from seed in the fields, and seedlings are sometimes, though not invariably, replanted after they have attained a height of a few inches. The great curse of the tobacco plants is a ground worm which destroys the roots. It is believed that planting the seed during the dark of the moon is favorable

[1] The author does not have sufficient familiarity with the Carib language to vouch completely for either the transliterations or the translations of these songs, which were obtained through interpreters. They have, however, been checked with three interpreters.

*177 43 sold between clearings, and although not conducted through trade store channels, prices are those in use at the trade store. Rates of exchange for food and craft items not carried in the trade store tend to be much more variable. Also, food payments for labor services tend to vary. When money is used, the rate is usually identical with payments made for government employment. The extent of these local [621] transactions is not great. Yet they, along with the absence of general reciprocity, demonstrate the tendency for households in different clearings to be closed with regard to sharing resources. Obviously, there now exists differential access to money or local *177 463 resources on a situational basis. This contrasts to the lack of economic specialization among the population prior to the introduction of the gold mining companies and the more sustained difference among miners and nonminers during the existence of gold enterprises.

*177 476 464 During 1970-71, exchanges for short term labor involved both groups and individuals. The kaiyap or group work day is a recent innovation among the Upper Barama River Caribs. It has only occurred at the Air Strip and has been exclusively attended by Air Strip residents. During the year of field work, few men were sufficiently comfortable with the resources they commanded to exchange days of work with others. Consequently, the kaiyap has taken a special form. Four kaiyaps were held by three men, including the Captain. For each, a group of about twenty men worked during the morning to clear a field. They were served cassiri in the field, and after work, they [203] had a meal at the house of the man sponsoring the kaiyap. Then, the remainder of the cassiri was consumed in a convivial atmosphere

of external resources. Larger numbers of people have come to live near each other without immediate cooperative bonds. Visiting commonly takes place during cassiri sprees which now last a number of hours rather than the several days reported by Gillin (1936:65). Among neighbors, contacts depend on the inclination and personalities of the people involved. This aspect of community life is foreshadowed in the school experience[7] of the children. They are brought together in age categories to learn, play, and form relationships on an associational basis. More permanently settled in centralized locations, the Upper Barama River Carib population has become organized as a local, small-scale society within the overarching national political economy.

However, the resource base on which this population depends remains fluid. For the majority of people, external resources are not reliable. Thus, agriculture in rain forest soil remains a prerequisite for permanent settlement. The encapsulation of this population relative to transportation and communication networks and the lack of resource-storing mechanisms have already been discussed. As a consequence, the Upper Barama River Carib population utilizes all resources for the subsistence they provide. Institutional elaboration among this population is absent. Instead, the household, albeit changed in composition in some cases, has remained the primary cooperative social unit. It is the smallest unit capable of securing a livelihood in the ubiquitous rain forest. Such organization has been maintained throughout the flux in regional contacts and external resources. The continued emphasis on the individual within the household context is reflected in the kinship system.

NOTES

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[1]Gillin does not report the exact relationship between Miller and John Cook's wife.

[273] [2]Cassiri is fermented from cassava. Gillin reports two recipes (1936:61). Currently, only one is commonly used. Cassava meal is baked into dark brown cakes. Water with grated red potato for color is placed in the kanu - a hollow cedar log with carved handles at each end. The women with teeth then crumble the cakes with their hands into a mash in the kanu. All the while they chew mouthfuls of this mash and return it to the kanu. The contents of the kanu are then allowed to set for about three days before the drink is ripe. Singing and dancing and general conviviality take place during a cassiri spree until the supply of cassiri is exhausted. Attendance is by invitation, but strangers are usually welcomed.

[3]This contrasts to the nature of the work itself such as rubber collecting among the Mundurucu and fur trading among the Algonkian which resulted in nuclear family organization (Murphy and Steward 1956). Rubber trees and fur-bearing animals tend to occur in defined territories best exploited by single, mobile nuclear families.

[4]During the field work conducted in 1970-71, there occurred considerable innovation and experimentation with house types at the Air Strip and in the satellite settlements. In some cases, a wall was added on one or more sides of the traditional house structure, which is posts supporting a thatched roof. These walls were made of slats, boards, logs, woven mats or a variety of these materials. Also, some houses were built on tall poles which allowed a living floor to be constructed as much as one story above ground.

[5]Carib crafts have diminished in variety and skill since trade goods have been available. This is markedly apparent with regard to pottery. There are few potters and few pots. Commercial cookware of aluminum or enamel is used at the Air Strip and the satellite settlements for cooking and storage purposes.

[323] The diversity of clay pots reported by Gillin (1936:48-49) has been reduced to three types. A combination of shape and size elements distinguish the tuma etna, tukuwali, and tuluwa. The tuma etna or sauce pot is any small, free standing pot. These are between six and ten inches in dimension and include a variety of shapes. The tukuwali and tuluwa are not free standing. Rather, their base is small and somewhat pointed making it necessary for these pots to be supported by being partially sunk in the ground. They may be rimmed or rimless. The tuluwa has a broad mouth and is used for boiling sweet cassiri. The tukuwali has a constricted mouth and is primarily for storage. Sizes vary considerably. The largest are about three feet by three feet and the smallest are about eight inches in all dimensions.

[114] [241] [6]In his examination of the diagnostic features of slash-and-burn